

TRAINING FOR CITIZENSHIP

BY
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AND
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PREFACE

THIS pamphlet has been approved by the Association for Education in Citizenship,¹ for although the authors are solely responsible for the actual document it represents broadly the views of the Association.

The pamphlet is mainly concerned with the problem of training for citizenship in schools; brief surveys only have been made with regard to the problem in universities and training colleges, and in continued and adult education. Not only would a fuller treatment in their case have led to unnecessary repetition, but where the education of the adult or of the adolescent attending part-time courses is concerned the Association is not yet in a position to make either a detailed survey or to offer many definite recommendations.

March, 1935.

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FOREWORD

IT will be generally agreed that fitness for citizenship is one of the objectives which the schools of this country should keep before them, and it is undeniable that the exercise of the function of citizenship to-day is much more difficult than it was a generation ago. Whether the schools should endeavour to give a preparation for citizenship in a direct form by teaching such subjects, for example, as political science and economics, or indirectly in relation to the usual subjects in the curriculum, is a matter upon which opinion may legitimately differ; and if preparation should be given in a direct form, the question has also to be settled of how far it is possible to deal with, or proper to simplify, complex everyday problems of political science and economics.

That the Board of Education has given thought to these matters is shown by the fact that in 1934 its Inspectors discussed with teachers from elementary schools the problems raised by the authors of this pamphlet, and will do so again this year. Whilst it is necessary to preserve an open mind on many of the questions raised all who believe in the importance of education for citizenship must be grateful to those who, like the authors, are striving to deal with a difficult problem with intellectual honesty.

H. RAMSBOTHAM,
*Parliamentary Secretary to the
Board of Education.*

Part I

THE CASE FOR TRAINING FOR CITIZENSHIP IN A DEMOCRATIC STATE

By SIR ERNEST D. SIMON

The Aims of Education

THE purpose of education is often stated in some general phrase: to form character; to produce a sound mind in a sound body; the complete and harmonious development of all the powers of personality. Most people would accept any of these definitions because they can be interpreted to mean almost anything. It is easy to agree on the desirability of a 'liberal' education, but when we go on to consider whether this will be best achieved by English or history or science, or classics—by a broad curriculum or by specialization—agreement becomes impossible until we have defined our aim more clearly.

The first object which most parents have in mind in wishing to give their children the best possible education is to enable them to make their way in the world and earn their living. A boy at the end of his education has nowadays to face a difficult world where competition is keen and secure employment difficult to obtain. His chance of success depends largely on the education which he has received. Hence the great importance of vocational education, which seeks to give a man the training, the knowledge, and the skill to enable him to earn a good living.

It is the very strength of the demand for vocational training which causes educationists to lay stress on the inadequacy of a narrow technical training, and to urge the aims of general culture, of a broad training of the mind to cultivate the tastes and stimulate the imagination. They point out that man has to-day more leisure than ever before, and that it is the aim of education to enable him to enjoy his leisure time in company with the great minds of the past and present.

It is often held that if these two kinds of education, the vocational and the cultural, be taken together, they will constitute by themselves an adequate and liberal education. But they are, in fact, only the self-regarding aspects of education directed towards an increase of the chances of personal worldly success, or of personal culture and intellectual or artistic enjoyment. They ignore a man's third great function in life: his membership of the community. A man may be splendidly educated as a technician, capable of doing valuable work in his vocation; he may be a profound scholar, an authority on some literary or artistic subject, and yet may be uneducated as a member of the community, knowing nothing and caring nothing about the lives of his fellow citizens, incapable of fulfilling his functions as a responsible citizen of a democratic state.

His education should make him feel himself to be consciously at one with the community, sharing in its traditions of the past, its life and action in the present, and its aspirations and responsibilities for the future. His daily work will acquire a new significance when he becomes aware that it may be done for the service of his nation, and, through his nation, of humanity at large.¹

It is this third aim of education, education for citizenship, with which it is our purpose to deal in the following pages.

The Crisis of Civilization

Fifty years ago it was generally believed in western Europe and the U.S.A. that the human race was making assured progress towards perfection along the triple paths of science, capitalism, and democracy. Men believed that the standard of living would rise, that leisure would increase, in short, that there would be steady progress towards a better social order.

In a large degree these hopes have been realized. None the less there is to-day a profound change. It is true that science and productive industry have continued to advance; statisticians tell us that production per head, owing to new

¹ Gruntvig.

inventions and developments, increases by 1 or 2 per cent. each year. But our control of the whole process is failing.

The first great failure is economic. Producers find that there is no demand for their goods; surplus herrings are thrown back into the sea, surplus coffee is burnt. There is not enough demand for the goods that could easily be produced, yet consumers cannot afford to purchase the goods they desire.

Many of the workers have to work long hours and overtime: there is often too much to do. For instance, nearly all teachers would like to do far more for their pupils than they can find time for.

In view of the achievements of science and industry, it ought to be possible for all who are engaged in industry to work, say, six hours a day, and for everybody to have one or two months' holiday in the year, and yet steadily to improve the standard of living; whereas in fact the majority are so busy that they have little real leisure; and at the same time nearly one-fifth of the would-be workers can find no work at all.

The second great failure is our inability to find means of making the world secure from war. There is an almost universal demand for peace by the people of the world; elaborate machinery has been set up to secure it, yet there is everywhere doubt whether another great war can be avoided.

There has never been a time when the world was potentially so rich yet unemployment and insecurity were so general—there has never been a time when such efforts were made to prevent war, yet the despairing fear of its inevitability was so widespread.

The Authoritarian Remedy

The natural reaction to such political failures is to blame the government, and when the failures continue men begin to blame the form of government, to talk about 'the depressed and cynical aimlessness of democracy'; to demand action and leadership. In countries where democracy was not based on long-standing tradition it has been replaced by some form of

dictatorship. And the dictators are alike in deriding democracy and freedom.

The main virtue in the citizen of any authoritarian state is discipline: enthusiastic and self-sacrificing obedience. Leadership appeals to much that is instinctive in mankind: docility has been held by kings and rulers to be the supreme virtue of citizenship since the days of the earliest societies of which we have any record.

The essence of an authoritarian state in which the greatness of the state becomes the one absolute good is that the government dreads opposition and free thought and suppresses it by violence. Spies and persecution are inevitable: it is the duty of the citizen to obey; cruelty to human beings does not count in comparison with the needs of the state. The development of British humanitarianism during the last two centuries is in striking contrast with the callous cruelty shown in much that has happened in the new authoritarian states.

One of the outstanding features of the new authoritarian states is the complete confidence of their adherents in the justice and rightness of their cause. Moreover, the authoritarians do not hesitate to use their full power to inculcate in the growing generation their own political views. The schools, the universities, the press, public speeches, the cinema, the theatre, broadcasting: all conceivable agents of publicity are united to preach the perfection of the state and the wickedness of its opponents. What effect this massed propaganda will have on youth in the long run is one of the most important questions of the next generation. One thing is certain, that it will continue to be used without scruple and without limit by the authoritarian state.

The Democratic Remedy

Citizens in the democratic states tend to be disillusioned and unhappy. But in the United Kingdom the great majority still decisively reject the authoritarian view. They believe that the Fascist ideals, superficially attractive to youth, are in fact the deadly enemies of the welfare and progress of mankind, that all that differentiates us from the beasts, all that

is noble and fine in human civilization, is due to the free use of the human reason: to the gradual development of methods of discussion and persuasion as opposed to violence; that the disinterested search for the spiritual values of truth, goodness, and beauty is only possible in a state built up and carried on by the co-operation of free and responsible men and women. They agree that public opinion is far from perfect; but if it is subject to panics it also responds to great ideals, as in the early days of President Wilson's visit to Europe.

They regard it as unjustified to talk about the failure of democracy, which is, in fact, giving a better life to the people in this country even to-day than any dictatorship ever has done anywhere; but they are forced to admit that while democracy worked well in the relatively simple and stable conditions of pre-War days, it is not working nearly as well in the much more difficult conditions of to-day, which demand a more flexible and scientific form of government than was formerly necessary.

What can be done to improve it? We are concerned here with one remedy: education. There has been since 1870 an immense increase in the amount of education, and a great improvement in its quality. And yet so great a democrat as Lord Bryce could write a few years ago that the people of England were then no more capable of choosing their leaders than they had been in 1870. Why has education not been more successful in producing citizens fitted to bring about a better social order?

Education To-day Inadequate

The reason seems to us to be simple: we have never given sufficient thought to the best method of educating a boy¹ for the purpose of fitting him to play his part as a citizen of a democratic state. It is no doubt difficult to accomplish much with the great majority who finish their formal education at fourteen; till we have spent a great deal of time and thought

¹ Throughout this pamphlet the word 'boy' is to be read to mean a boy or girl, and 'father' to mean parent.

in experimenting and developing the best methods, we shall not know what can be achieved.

On the other hand, a boy leaving school at eighteen, or leaving the university at twenty-one or twenty-two, can, if properly taught, be given the necessary background of knowledge and the necessary interest in the affairs of the world to give him every opportunity of becoming a good citizen as he gains experience of life.

But even our university graduates have by no means always the qualities of citizenship. It is claimed that any university graduate with a good liberal education should be able to apply his powers and his knowledge to the vocation of citizenship. No doubt this is true in the case of those who, when their formal education is completed, have the time and ability and desire to acquire the necessary knowledge. A man who has done well in some specialized course at a university should become a first-class citizen or politician, on one condition: that after he comes down he continues to educate himself either by taking some active interest in public affairs or at least by devoting some substantial time to their study. But if he goes into business or a profession in the complex and competitive modern world, the pressure on his time is so great that in most cases he never does, in fact, learn enough about politics to form independent opinions of his own.

Irrelevant learning, of however high a type, does not in itself make a competent citizen. A man who is the highest authority on the use of the Greek particle, or on the latest theories of physical science, is not necessarily capable of forming a valuable opinion about the value of the League of Nations, about the relative merits of Free Trade and Tariff Reform, or even of judging wisely the type of man who will make the best Member of Parliament or Minister of the Crown.

Unfortunately, a large portion of our education is still completely detached from the problems of the modern world. Experience teaches us that a man with a good general education based on languages or science may be, and indeed often is, an excellent father, an excellent business man, and at the

same time a bad citizen. It is notorious that great classical students or great scientists are quite capable of combining the best thinking on their own subject with violent prejudice and complete muddle-headedness on public affairs.

The case we wish to put forward is this: that in the relatively simple society of the nineteenth century, when government interfered little with the daily life of the people, indirect education for citizenship was perhaps adequate. Democracy worked fairly well without much specialized training for citizenship, either of the voter or of the statesman. To-day things have changed. The political world is so complex and difficult that it is essential to train men just as consciously and deliberately for their duties as citizens as for their vocation or profession.

The Citizen of Democracy

The authoritarian states seem to have been successful in creating—at least for the time—a high degree of enthusiastic and self-sacrificing devotion among their followers. We cannot expect, or even desire, the same fanatical enthusiasm among lovers of reason and liberty, for fanaticism is the enemy of liberty. It is the task of democracy not to imitate the irrational enthusiasm of its enemies but to cultivate reason and tolerance while combating cynicism and indifference; to foster the steady growth among its citizens of a deep and abiding faith in the justice and rightness of its principles.

It is the common boast of non-democratic communities that they alone know how to call forth qualities of leadership on the one hand, and of enthusiastic devotion and obedience on the other. The educated democracies of the world must expose the emptiness of this boast. Only the intelligence and open-eyed co-operation of leader and led can create a leadership that is both stable and progressive; that can survive necessary disappointments and turn the mistakes of the past into the benefit of the future.

Let us consider what qualities a citizen of democracy should have in addition to the qualities that go to make a good parent, a good scholar, or a good business man.

Among the fundamental moral qualities he must have a deep concern for the good life of his fellows. He must have a sense of social responsibility and the will to sink his own immediate interests and the interests of his class in the common good: to do his full share in working for the community.

But these qualities alone might lead to the well-meaning dictator or the unthinking follower. The citizen of democracy must also be a man of independent judgement; he must care intensely for freedom; he must respect the individualities of others and therefore be tolerant of opinions in conflict with his own; he must prefer methods of discussion and persuasion to methods of force.

The citizen of democracy also needs certain intellectual qualities. It is not enough to love truth; he must learn how to find it. It is easy to teach students to reason correctly in the physical sciences; it is much more difficult to teach them to reason correctly in the social sciences where their own prejudices and passions are involved. They must be taught habits of clear thinking in order that they may acquire the power of recognizing their own prejudices and of discussing political and economic questions with the same calm, the same desire to understand the other person's position, the same precision and absence of overstatement, as they would bring to the discussion of a problem in mathematics.

Further, they must acquire some knowledge both of the world of to-day and of the history of its development; of politics, of economics, of geography, of biology, and the social sciences generally, as the necessary basis on which alone they can build up a sound judgement of public affairs.

The average voter can never be expected to form a useful opinion on the many detailed and complex issues of modern politics and economics. He may fervently wish for peace, but he cannot judge the best methods of securing disarmament and co-operation. He may wish for the abolition of unemployment and for a better standard of life for all, but can hardly hope to judge in detail how society should set

about it. A striking example of the effective working of the right kind of public opinion is given by the history of the housing of the working classes. One hundred years ago public opinion was indifferent; the most revolting slums were built. Gradually, under the pressure of public opinion, governments began to intervene and improve the standard of housing. Since the War, from the days of the 'Homes for Heroes' campaign, public opinion has insistently demanded the abolition of the slums and the rapid building of new houses until a good house is provided for every family. Housing has become front-page news in the penny press. As a result, every government has taken action, some in one way, some in another. Public opinion has not concerned itself with the particular methods to be adopted. It has wisely left such matters to the government, which has the benefit of the expert advice of the civil service. None the less, it has been the steady pressure of public opinion demanding that the job shall be done somehow which has been effective in greatly increasing the rate of building houses and in securing a new and better standard of working-class housing.

We believe that in an educated democracy the voter should acquire a number of soundly based convictions on the main political questions of the day. He should recognize that he has responsibilities not only as a citizen of his own country, but also as a citizen of the world; that there must be equal justice for all; that government should be by discussion and persuasion rather than by force; that every child should be given a fair chance of growing up sound in mind and body, and making the best of its natural faculties.

There is also a further quality which the citizen of democracy must possess: the capacity to choose a good representative and to trust him when chosen. It is not always realized how greatly our political success and stability depend on the integrity of our public life and our public services. The voter must have the right standards as to what one should honour and respect in public men: he must recognize integrity, courage, and ability, and prefer these virtues to the specious qualities of the demagogue.

To sum up, the good citizen of a democratic state must have:

1. A deep concern for the freedom and good life of his fellows; a readiness to sacrifice his private interests for the common good, and to take part in some form of social activity.
2. Such knowledge and trained intelligence as will enable him to form sound judgements about the main problems of politics, and to help to build up a responsible and effective public opinion.
3. The power to appreciate the value of wisdom and integrity in public representatives, and a willingness to trust and follow leaders possessing these qualities.

Education for Democracy

It may be said that the picture we have drawn of the citizen of democracy is an unattainable ideal. We agree that it is an ideal, but we believe that many men and women of this country could be educated to this level. Some people attain such citizenship with little or no formal education: Lincoln may be taken as the outstanding example. But for the majority to reach this level of citizenship must depend on the one hand on the gradual building up of an even stronger national tradition of free citizenship than we have to-day, and on the other of more effective and direct education for citizenship. Clearly, the task of the teachers would be made easier if the amount of formal education were increased, but even under existing conditions a good start is possible.

We believe that a reasonable proportion of the men and women of this country could, by the right sort of training and environment, acquire something approaching the qualities we have indicated even under the conditions of to-day. We believe a democracy with such citizens would gradually but certainly solve the problems of economics and politics which are baffling us to-day. We believe that the first great step towards such a democracy lies in giving far more conscious attention throughout our educational system to the problems of the best methods of educating citizens.

Part II

METHODS OF TRAINING FOR CITIZENSHIP

By EVA M. HUBBACK, M.A.

I. THE ETHICAL APPROACH

THE most fundamental problem in training for citizenship is how to encourage those emotions, feelings, or 'sentiments' which form the basis of good social as of good individual relationships, and which give to each individual his scale of values. It is only the possession of a social scale of values which will stir the ordinary man or woman to develop the qualities necessary for a citizen of a democratic state which have been outlined in Part I.

How, then, by means of education can we help the next generation to achieve what the great majority of people in this country feel to be the very foundations of democratic citizenship—the love of freedom and truth, the desire to serve one's fellow man, and, if change is needed, the determination to use reason and persuasion rather than violence or force?

It is a truism that the child or young person is influenced by the whole of his environment—his home, his friends and fellow workers, the churches, the Press, cinema, &c.; but so large a share of his life at the most impressionable age is spent at school or college, that we are justified in looking upon the contribution these make as of outstanding importance. It is, then, their part which is here our particular concern.

The Part played by the Teacher.

The value of the role played by the personality and outlook of the individual teacher can hardly be exaggerated. The mere fact that a teacher cares intensely for the welfare of the community, and possesses the moral force of clearly apprehended and vigorously expressed ideals of freedom and truth, goes a long way towards arousing similar emotions and a

similar sense of values in his pupils. There are probably few of those now actively concerned with public affairs who have not at some time been made aware of the needs of their fellow men, or have not been inspired to fight for liberty by the example of some one—it may be a teacher—whose ideals, and whose efforts to achieve those ideals, have excited their admiration. A teacher who wishes to do so finds endless opportunities, both in the classroom and outside, explicitly and implicitly, of expressing a high conception of citizenship and of showing the need for the individual citizen to give something to the community in return for all that he gains from it.

In order to increase the number of such teachers it is vitally important to offer both to students while in training and to teachers who are at work every possible opportunity of taking an active interest or part in the world outside the school, and of keeping themselves in touch with its needs. Heads of schools should ask from their teachers not only proficiency in their own craft of teaching, but in addition a sense of the supremacy of spiritual values and, among a due proportion at least, a keen civic consciousness. The efforts already being made in the more progressive training colleges and in many schools to encourage this consciousness will increasingly be reflected in the classroom.

The Life of the School.

The efforts of the individual teacher must not be isolated. They must find an appropriate setting in the whole life and tone of the school, the activities of which must be deliberately planned and organized—sometimes directly, sometimes in subtle and indirect ways—to develop the qualities which lead to good citizenship. Thus, to live in a community which has itself high social ideals; in which freedom is combined with order; in which the development of the power of independent judgement goes hand in hand with tolerance; which is deserving of loyalty; and which demands real responsibility from its members, constitutes a vital form of preparation for citizenship in later life.

It is generally acknowledged that the development of

character so that the individual may be worthy of freedom and capable of self-control is one of the educational ideals towards which most schools in this country consciously strive, and experiments as to the extent to which freedom can be allowed, both in the classroom and outside it, are being carried on in many different types of schools.

Loyalty to the school community and the growth of its corporate life is also everywhere encouraged; the development of the team spirit in games is widespread, and efforts are now being made in many schools to extend this spirit to the classroom by means of the substitution of co-operative or group methods of work for the older competitive methods which only regarded individual achievement.

A sense of responsibility for the welfare of the school, of the need for self-sacrifice, and of the power of leadership is everywhere demanded from prefects and monitors; moreover, it is now being increasingly realized that the opportunity to exercise responsibility must not be limited to a few born leaders but must be extended to the rank and file of ordinary children. A valuable practical training can be gained if the children themselves play a large part at least in the election of candidates for certain school offices. This search for the right kind of leaders in school should be an experience which will prove useful later, in the selection of leaders and candidates in civic and political offices.

Many other opportunities occur in the course of the school life of arousing a sense of social responsibility. The Scout and Guide movements, for instance, have shown how young people can be encouraged to give their services to the community; school missions, settlements, summer camps, &c., give to others their opportunity; and in some schools quite young children can be asked to co-operate in tasks such as making a local survey or clearing up litter.

Direct Training.

All these influences are valuable, but by themselves they are not enough to provide the motive for good citizenship. Something more is required in order that loyalty to the

school may be 'carried over' to a wider sphere and that the citizen's duty to the community of state or world may be realized; that his readiness to fight for a side may be replaced by a fight for what is best in public life; that he may develop a real love of his own district and country, an understanding of those of his own countrymen whose circumstances or whose views he does not share, and a sympathy with nations other than his own. The fact that the loyalty which any particular institution succeeds in arousing may become 'canalized' and may not be necessarily transferred to the community, is evident from the number of adult citizens who are uncritically loyal to their own small group, but who are blind to the inter-relation of different sections of their own nation or of different nations, and unready to devote their time or even their thought to the community. Deliberate efforts therefore must be made in school to make this transference conscious and to encourage young people to appreciate not only their responsibilities to the school, but also the civic duties which the citizen of a democratic state will be called on to carry out in later life.

Many opportunities arise in the course of school life for the consideration of fine civic ideals and of the ethical approach to social problems. This training can be given both from the religious and from the humanist point of view. The religious tone of the school, as expressed in daily prayers, in the chapel, and in the scripture lesson, in literature or history lessons, or in contacts with individual children, offers an opportunity to those head teachers and others who derive their conception of the love of man from the love of God. These remember that the injunction 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God' is followed by 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself', and they regard their faith in democracy as a practical expression of the value of individual personality insisted on by their religion. This derivation of the sense of civic duty from a religious faith gives to the performance of these duties a sanction and force, which, properly directed, should form in the young people who hold such a faith a source of inspiration throughout life.

The humanist approach, equally based on the ideal of the brotherhood of man, makes in its turn a strong appeal and has also its own moral sanctions. Civilization itself is regarded by many as the growth of recognition of the imperative duty to help one's fellows and to relieve suffering—whatever one may believe as to ultimate realities. The story of the development of man's moral stature can be brought out in the study of the history and literature of mankind through the ages; while the study of geography and languages can do much to ensure a widening of sympathies for the needs and points of view of contemporary nations.

There are, we know, some teachers who consider that direct moral teaching, through the medium of the subjects here suggested or others, is doomed to failure owing to the instinctive reaction of the young against preaching of any kind. But this natural reluctance to appear priggish, on the part of both teacher and taught, may result in a failure to face moral issues, whether individual or social; and there is no doubt that young people are quick to respond to idealism in any form, and are intensely interested in problems of conduct. It is for these reasons that we advocate that definite opportunities should be made in every school for discussing social and civic values and ideals as an aid to developing moral judgement, instead of relying entirely on the assumption that this can be picked up indirectly through the life of the school.

Sir Michael Sadler sums up admirably the difference between moral training through the life of the school and moral instruction, as follows:

Moral training aims at giving good habits; moral instruction at imparting moral ideas. Moral training is secured by watchful care over conduct; by intimacy with good example; by wisely ordered physical discipline; by a due measure of organized school games; by the good influences in the corporate life of the school; by the responsibilities of self-government; and by the effect of honest intellectual work upon the moral outlook and judgement. Moral instruction aims definitely at furnishing ideas which may help in giving a right direction to conduct. It may, indeed, be

incidental; or it may be allusive; or it may be in the form of a parable, or of an historical example, or of an illustration from poetry or fiction. It may appeal to the religious sanction as well as to the personal and social sanctions, or to the two latter alone. But however masked it may be in its incidence, it must, in so far as it is moral instruction, be direct.¹

II. KNOWLEDGE OF THE MODERN WORLD

A. SCHOOLS

How can we best provide that knowledge of the modern world which a citizen requires in order that his opinions on public affairs may be based on a foundation of facts?

This knowledge can be acquired through the existing subjects in the curriculum; through the addition of new subjects; and through activities outside the classroom.

1. *Existing Subjects.*

History and geography are clearly those subjects most closely concerned with the basic facts of citizenship; but English, science, scripture, classics, ancient and modern languages, and others have each a distinctive part to play. Casual and unrelated references by the teachers of these subjects will not be of much value; and in a school in which training for citizenship is to be a real objective those responsible for the scheme of work must envisage clearly what this training involves, and must plan carefully the part to be played by each relevant subject. In this way the work of each individual teacher is reinforced by that of his colleagues; while he in his turn must consider how he can reorientate his work, and perhaps modify his syllabus in order that it should have the maximum practicable bearing on the modern world and what has led up to it.

By making use of existing facilities in this way, a large proportion of the staff of any school can co-operate in the task and few fresh demands need be made on an overburdened curriculum.

¹ *Moral Instruction and Training in Schools.*

(a) *History*. The contribution made by the study of history to an understanding of contemporary conditions and to an appreciation of our national heritage can be pre-eminent if it is recognized that the type of historian required is he who looks upon the study of the history of the past largely as a means of interpreting the present. Whatever period or aspect of history is being taught such a teacher ensures that comparisons are established and relations stressed between life in that period and life to-day and to-morrow, and that its contribution to the modern world is appreciated.

It has been suggested that for many of us the historical attitude only arises when knowledge of the present has led to a wish to know its origins; if this be true it will follow that the place of the academic historian bent on adding to the knowledge of the past and comparatively uninterested in the world of to-day is more the university and the study than the school.

The study of history in school is many-sided, and it is fortunate that the history of economic and social conditions of culture and ideas is now widely recognized as being of greater importance than that of diplomacy and war.

As it is easier for young children to imagine changes in things which are familiar to them, the study of *local history*—in cases in which suitable records can be obtained and where local events illustrate national developments—can be of considerable value, both for its own sake and for the sake of arousing interest in local affairs. The child can be brought to see, by a study of the influence exercised by local heroes, how his own efforts are needed to help to shape the destiny of his own community.

Local history leads on to the study of national movements and central institutions. At one time it was considered sufficient that children who left school at fourteen should have obtained a working knowledge of the history of their own country—more being, of course, demanded from the secondary school child. It is now, fortunately, thought to be of vital importance to consider a wider perspective and to give to all some account of the political and economic development of

the British Commonwealth, and of the world as a whole—or, where this last is not possible, at any rate of those countries whose development helps to explain the international problems of to-day.

In addition to the history of bygone ages it is essential for the citizen of to-day that his knowledge of history should be brought down to the point at which it merges with current events. We are apt to forget that what we ourselves have actually lived through is history to children and young people, and that even events as recent as those of the last three or four years will not be realized by them unless definitely studied. It is satisfactory to note that the majority of pupils who take History for the School Certificate Examinations choose the modern period up to 1914. We, however, should like to see this period taught universally, whether as an examination subject or otherwise, and ended only at the present date.

(b) *Geography*. Modern methods of teaching geography provide a most valuable background for a sympathetic understanding of other nations. Geography to-day has passed far beyond the stage of being concerned with physical features only. As is the case with history, the geography course frequently starts from the known and by means of a regional survey of his own town or village and its surroundings the child learns to know the meaning of geographical terms and to appreciate what factors in the social environment are of primary importance. From his own locality outwards his attention can be directed first to his own country and then to the world. Geography thus aims at developing a well-informed view of the conditions, both economic and political, in which human beings live in different parts of the world, and of the relation between them. Thus it offers an explanation of why people live and work as they do and of the influence which environment has on character: as Professor Dover Wilson says:¹

It is incumbent upon us . . . to give all our future voters . . . at least some general conception of what a Frenchman, an Ameri-

¹ *Humanism in the Continuation School*.

can, a Russian, an Italian, a German, is, and what he stands for in the political structure of civilization.

It has been suggested that the geography room of a good school should constitute itself, as it were, a miniature Chat-ham House—a source of information on international affairs generally.

The study of geography in its economic aspect—of imports and exports, of transport and communication, of raw materials and markets—is also of considerable value and necessitates some explanation of broad economic principles, thus serving as an admirable introduction to the study of economics itself.

(c) *Science*. As regards science it must be remembered that the whole fabric of modern industry depends on the direction given to it by the physical and chemical sciences, and that the science teacher therefore has the responsibility of relating his teaching to one of the forces that mould modern life. The significance of biology is even more evident, in the light it is able to throw on questions of personal health and social hygiene, on problems of population and the quality of the human race, and on questions such as food supplies. The more obvious contributions of history and political study to the problems of living together should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the right use of science may bring in a happier world and the wrong use may destroy it.

(d) *Other Subjects in the Curriculum*. It would take too long to deal in detail with the other subjects of the curriculum. It must suffice to suggest that in the study of English literature the child is brought in touch with the finest expressions of the thought and ideals of his own race. In the study of language, whether it be English, the classics, or modern languages, he gains practice in the exact use of words and in arranging ideas in their logical sequence—a useful basis on which to build up later clear thinking in political and economic problems. Classics in addition give an opportunity for the study of the great civilizations which preceded our own, which were faced by many similar problems and actuated by many of the same ideals. In the same way the study of

modern languages should be such as to give a wider understanding of the civilizations of the nations concerned.

Arithmetic can be used to deal with problems of everyday life, such as wages, rates and taxes, insurance, &c. In many schools the calculations used are those required in connexion with public administration, such as rates or taxes, and with practical economic problems, such as buying and equipping a house, reckoning wages, insurances, &c.

2. *The Addition of New Subjects.*

The advantage of adding the social sciences as specific subjects to the curriculum must next be considered. There is always a danger—if the teaching of citizenship is left entirely to be carried out through subjects whose main centre of interest is elsewhere, and which are shackled, as in the case of the secondary schools, by examination syllabuses unrelated to the study of citizenship—that the references and amount of attention devoted to it may be inadequate and casual. There is, therefore, much to be said for the introduction into the time-table of public affairs and economics under their own names. It is true that courses in these subjects may be, and often are, adopted as part of the history and geography studies. As, however, contemporary public affairs are *not* history, though history forms an essential preparation, and as economics is *not* geography, though economic geography serves as an admirable approach to the science, their classification under these existing subjects is at best a misnomer, and at worst an opportunity for their comparative neglect; for—unless the teachers of history and geography in any given school are both interested in and competent to teach contemporary public affairs and economics in addition to history and geography—the newer subjects may be very inadequately dealt with, although they are of first-class importance as a preparation for the future citizen. Generally speaking, the social sciences are likely to be better and more systematically taught if they are treated as independent and important subjects which, at least for older children, demand their own qualified specialists.

(a) *Citizenship, Public Affairs, or Government.* These terms may be indifferently applied to the study of the institutions of government, local, national, commonwealth, and international, and of the principles underlying them according to whether they are being taught to younger or older children respectively. (We avoid the word 'civics', as when first introduced into the schools some thirty or forty years ago the subject acquired a bad reputation on account of the inexperienced methods of teaching and the dull nature of the text-books used. Public affairs or government, then, can be taken either as the logical end to a history course—as recommended by the Hadow Report, by the L.C.C. Education Committee, and others—or—where, for instance, the history teacher is unable to tackle it—as a separate subject.

There seems to be general agreement that, as regards senior and central schools, courses in public affairs should be taken for at least a year, preferably as near as possible to the end of school life.¹ In secondary schools these courses are sometimes taken in the fifths, but are more often left to the sixth-form stage. The subject-matter should always emerge naturally from the history of the institutions concerned, and should be related as closely as possible to the life of the children; and it is for this reason that, as in history, it is usually considered wise to start with local affairs. During the course the functions and institutions of government, both local and central, should be dealt with, including Education, Public Health, Justice, Police, the Post Office, and the Defence Services, and the everyday work of local councils and of Parliament should be described. The most satisfactory methods of approach are, not surprisingly, those which give scope for the pupil's own activity and individual contribution. In many schools dramatic methods are found to be the most successful. Many accounts have been sent to us of mock elections, Parliaments, trials, model Assemblies of the League of Nations, dramatization of the work of borough councils, &c. In addition actual visits to local institutions,

¹ See Hadow Report.

law courts, Parliament, &c., are essential to illustrate the work of the classroom. In some areas co-operation is achieved with local councillors and officials, who come into the schools to give an account each of their own work. We have been told that in senior schools it is the citizenship lesson in which the parents show most interest, and themselves provide information and send up questions for answer.

As regards older pupils in secondary schools, considerably more can be attempted than mere description. They can be brought to consider the principles which lie behind the normal events of political life and of the institutions of to-day. They can discuss, for instance, not only our system of justice, but the rule of Law itself—its origins, its functions, its limitations, and its relation to the administration. They can approach fundamental questions such as the conception of democracy in different ages, of liberty, of freedom of thought, and the influences which make up public opinion.

The study of the government of this country should be followed, both for younger and older children, by that of the working of the British Commonwealth, so that their citizenship of this wider community may be realized. This will lead in turn to the conception of world citizenship and of the part played in international relations by the League of Nations, and older pupils will in this connexion find an opportunity of considering problems such as the maintenance of peace, and disarmament.

In some schools at present there is a curious tendency to lay great stress on the machinery of the League of Nations without providing opportunities for study of either the international affairs which constitute its setting or the workings of the government of our own country. Thus, a child may easily be familiar with the machinery and functions of the League and yet be ignorant of the organization of his own district or nation.

(b) *Current Events.* Courses in current events are frequent and are usually, though by no means always, given by the history teacher. Such courses often arouse keen interest; they encourage the children to read newspapers and to collect

their own material; they can be used also to show how different is the selection of facts made by different sections of the press, and how varied are the interpretations of these facts as set out by different political parties; and in the upper classes of secondary schools they can be used also as a starting-point for political theory.

It is highly desirable, however, in order to avoid too superficial and spasmodic an approach, that these courses should be supplemented by more systematic courses in politics or economics and recent history; in this way a background of knowledge is acquired against which day-to-day events can be viewed in their proper setting.

(c) *Economics*. The study of industrial history and of economic geography will have done much to prepare the mind of the child for economics proper. The enormously important part played by economic considerations in the world of to-day and in the life of the individual point to the need for systematic instruction on economic facts and on the principles which lie behind them. In senior and central schools this must be mainly confined to descriptive economics. Owing to the familiarity of the child with the industrial, economic, and social facts of his own environment, the teacher is here given a better opportunity than in almost any other subject to build up from the child's own knowledge. Several teachers who take as their jumping-off ground the occupations of the fathers and the shopping baskets of the mothers have told us of the interest children have shown in simple descriptions of markets, in the relation between money and prices, in the distribution of population, in problems of poverty, and in various industrial processes. Visits are paid to shops, factories, docks, banks, &c., and there is considerable scope for the employment of the dramatic method. One elementary school, for example, has adopted the device of acting scenes from a market, which involves an explanation by the children of the organization of industry—commerce and banking—reduced to their simplest terms.

Older children in secondary schools can proceed later to

the consideration of simple theory, in order that their work may be more systematic and that the study of economics may be used not only as a training ground for citizenship, not only to enable each child to estimate the place his own and his comrades' future occupations take in the economic system of the country; but also as a fine educational instrument for training in logical habits of thought. The study of economic principles in school will not turn out economists, but it should enable the ordinary voter to be better prepared than he is at present to weigh up the consequences of the various economic policies on which his opinion will be asked, and will go far to arouse an interest in these problems which will impel him to acquire further data on which to base his opinions in later life.

We are familiar with the objection that the teaching of economics should be avoided in schools, in that it is more controversial and difficult than any other subject so far considered. It is, therefore, worth pointing out that those aspects of the subject which cause acute controversy, though widely advertised, are comparatively limited, especially in the more elementary and descriptive aspects of the subject. When controversy is inevitable it can be dealt with by the teacher's taking care to discriminate between what is fact and what are his own personal opinions; and also by his pointing out that for different ends different means are required—for instance, that a country wishing to be self-supporting would need to adopt one policy and that bent on developing international trade another.

(d) *Social Studies*. There is much to be said for a course not divided into individual subject headings, but which aims at giving a general account of the political and economic development of nations, and of their present social, political, and economic surroundings. Interesting experiments are being tried in both senior and secondary schools to break down the subject barriers between history, citizenship, geography, and economics, and to try to give young people a conspectus of the modern world and of what has led up to it.

3. *Outside Activities.*

The value of outside activities in arousing interest and awakening a sense of social responsibility has been already referred to. These can also lead to the acquisition of a considerable amount of miscellaneous information. School visits and the more ambitious school journeys—which may take the form of regional surveys of different parts of the country or of journeys abroad—can do much to enlarge the horizon and to widen the sympathies of their participants.

Many of the activities which in some schools form a regular part of the courses on citizenship or economics are adopted by others on special occasions. These include 'celebrations' in praise of a famous man or woman, or on some great civic, national, or international occasion; a model election, a dramatized council meeting, a mock trial, debates, lectures, the establishment of a branch of the League of Nations Union. Valuable as many of these activities may be if supplemented by formal and systematic treatment in the classroom, if employed merely as a substitute for this formal training they may fail in their purpose. For they tend to encourage the dangerous, though widespread, point of view that a casual and superficial acquaintance with the problems with which citizens have to deal is sufficient; and that these problems do not require the hard mental discipline and systematic background that are recognized as essential in the physical sciences. What, for instance, would be thought of the methods of scientific study in a school in which, although no regular teaching in physics or biology was given, visits to museums or discussions and single lectures on recent discoveries were considered to be all that was necessary?

Difficulties to be Overcome

1. *The Crowded Curriculum.*

There are many teachers who are anxious to introduce direct training for citizenship into their schools, but who find themselves in practice unable to do so on account of the

already overcrowded curriculum. This objection is familiar in that it has always been put forward ever since schools began to expand their activities to cover subjects other than the three Rs and classics. We are confident, therefore, that the recognition of the vital need for a widespread development of teaching about the modern world is in itself sufficient to ensure that here again a way out of this difficulty will be found. The fact that so much can be taught through the medium of existing subjects should make the task easier.

Many suggestions familiar to all teachers have also been put forward in authoritative quarters as to how the present curriculum can be modified, ranging from reduction of time given to individual subjects to the rearrangement of the whole time-table by means such as the project method. Fortunately, in spite of present difficulties there is already a sufficient number of schools of every kind giving direct training in citizenship, either through the older subjects, or through the introduction of new subjects, or through a combination of both methods, to show that—given the will—the problem is not insoluble. The Association for Education in Citizenship has received accounts of a large number of schemes for training in citizenship already at work, which can be sent to any one interested.

2. *Bias in the Teacher.*

It is often used as a reason against the teaching of political and economic subjects in schools, that a political bias on the part of the teacher is inevitable, and that the expression of this bias or the advocacy by him of any definite point of view might justifiably be resented by parents and by governing bodies, and might be unfair to the pupil through imposing on him a ready-made set of views. This fear has increased considerably during the last few years as a result of the obligation imposed on teachers in the authoritarian states to present to their pupils as unassailable their own government's particular political or economic creed.

It is reassuring to note, then, that this apprehension of bias is not usually found in the teaching profession itself,

nor among educational administrators most closely in touch with the actual classroom. We have inquired from many teachers engaged in discussing contemporary problems in schools and evening institutes, &c., as to whether any objection, either from within or from without the school, has arisen over the question of bias in the teaching. They were unanimous with regard to the absence of any complaints from parents, and only in a very small number of cases were we told of any objections being raised by members of governing bodies or of education committees.

The fact is that in this country the standard of conscientiousness among our teachers is amazingly high, and any undue or unfair bias in the teaching of any subject—whether history, scripture, or even current politics and economics—is reduced to a minimum. We use the phrase 'unfair bias' because bias of a kind is always and inevitably present, in that it is the expression of the individuality of the teacher and of his sense of values. To eliminate all bias from his teaching would be to eliminate all personality and life, as it inevitably is present in the selection of his subject-matter and in the way in which he presents it.

But although an element of bias is a factor in all teaching, the danger of undue bias arises most clearly when dealing with contemporary problems, in history, politics, and economics, though even here much of the teaching is descriptive in character only, and the body of generally accepted facts and aims is considerably greater than is usually realized.

It must, moreover, be recognized that if, through fear of inculcating bias, knowledge of the modern world and of its conditions, facts, and problems is kept from the child or young person in school, it by no means follows that he will be protected from the influence of far more exaggerated forms of bias from other quarters. On the contrary, it will be remembered that the child, in common with the rest of the population, is subjected to a constant stream of propaganda, in the press, from advertisement hoardings, or from the proselytizing efforts of those propagandist organizations which like to collect their followers young; and in addition

the atmosphere of the average home is usually one in which only one set of opinions is supported, whether in religion, in politics, or in economics. This means that the child's mind is anything but a blank slate; it may have been influenced by, or have reacted against these ideas, but it has already been scored on, and generally in one direction only. There is ample evidence that when children or young people are taught in school or college to apply the scientific method to the discussion of these problems rather than to accept in an unquestioning manner what has been acquired by tradition or slogan, they fully appreciate the desirability of a dispassionate approach.

Once the teacher is conscious of his bias he can so order his teaching as to encourage, for older children at any rate, real freedom of discussion on controversial topics. He must encourage an atmosphere in his class which—when the children are of an age to proceed from mere description of facts to more controversial matters—will be that of argument rather than that of dogmatism. He must train his pupils to exercise a healthy scepticism. While making clear his own point of view he must distinguish between opinion and absolute fact. He must set out opposing points of view. He must, for example, when dealing with current events, show the varying approach of different parties and of different countries.

3. *The Problem of Dogma.*

It may seem to follow from this that the teaching of any definite body of principles is undesirable; but if that be so, we should, as regards social ethics, be following a very different principle from that usually followed in the case of individual ethics. Here we do not hesitate to dogmatize: we endeavour to teach our children quite categorically and as ultimate values the need to be unselfish, honest, and brave. Is there not also a corresponding body of social values on which our democratic form of civilization is based? We have shown in Part I that we believe the qualities necessary for a citizen of a democratic state to be: a belief in liberty—that freedom must be cherished up to the point at which it begins to clash

with that of others, when it must be limited by the need for order and tolerance; a passion for truth; a belief that law should be the means of settling disputes both between individuals and between nations; and that changes in the existing state of affairs should be effected by persuasion, argument, and reason, rather than by force and violence; a belief that the citizen of a democratic state should feel personal responsibility for its good government—that he must be prepared to sacrifice his time and to use his mind in the service of the various communities—local, national, and world-wide—to which he belongs, and that he must consider the interests of other classes and peoples as well as his own.

These, and no doubt others, are aims the value of which is accepted by the overwhelming majority of our population. We should then be false to our democratic form of civilization if we did not encourage our teachers to hold up definitely as admirable the doctrines of liberty, of reason, and of the love of our fellows, on which the moral standards of the community and our constitution are ultimately based. This should not lay the teacher open to the charge of undue indoctrination; moreover, the measure of advocacy required is so much less in degree as to constitute a difference in kind from that required in the authoritarian state.

4. *Public Examinations.*

Among the difficulties in the way of a wider and more definite education in citizenship, the possibly restrictive effect of public examinations, e.g. for the School Certificate and the Higher Certificate, cannot be under-estimated. The influence of examinations in education is, however, being so widely and frequently discussed at present that it is unnecessary for us to contribute to the controversy in any detail.

From the standpoint of this pamphlet two points are of importance. One way of reform may lie through a modification of existing examination syllabuses, particularly in history, geography, and economics, so as to secure some recognition of the importance of studying public affairs and present-day problems. It is even more important to encourage the

principle that specific preparation for examinations ought not to occupy by any means the whole of a pupil's time and interest at school, and it is probably in the time which is not devoted to the strict study of an examination syllabus that the principal opportunity is afforded for encouraging interest in civic responsibilities and problems.

B. CONTINUED AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION (14-18)

Many of the suggestions we have put forward with regard to young people in secondary schools apply equally to the boy or girl of the same age undergoing some form of continued education or training, whether full-time or part-time; and many of the same difficulties are also to be found.

In continued and technical education we include junior technical and junior commercial schools, day continuation schools, juvenile instruction centres, junior evening institutes, and classes in boys' and girls' clubs, &c. Here we find young people who already have made contact, either through their work or through their training, with the life of industry or commerce; whose experience of the real world is therefore richer, and whose minds are on this account even more ready for a systematic approach to social, political, and economic problems than are the pupils in secondary schools. Thus, here again, history, geography, literature, English, science, and arithmetic, can all be made valuable instruments, and here again we should like to see widespread the study of economics and public affairs.

At present, unfortunately, only a small proportion of those who leave elementary schools proceed to any form of continued education; but should the numbers of whole-time students increase, and should the schemes now being put forward for compulsory part-time continuation school up to the age of 18 materialize, it would be possible to relieve the senior schools of those aspects of training for citizenship which can most appropriately be dealt with at a later age.

In many junior technical schools for both boys and girls, and also among the other types of institutions men-

tioned, some knowledge of the modern world is being given through history and geography courses and courses in public affairs; but it is by no means universal. We can only hope that the example of those who are successful in finding time for training of this kind in the curriculum will shortly be followed by all.

It is generally admitted that the years 14-18 are among the most formative, and that advantage should be taken of the development of the emotions and the awakening of interest that adolescence brings. In addition therefore to direct instruction, it is obviously of importance that opportunities should be given in all the institutions concerned, both for the moral training which helps to provide the motive force for good citizenship and for the training in independent judgement and clear thinking to which we shall refer later. As in the case of the schools, advantage should be taken of the training given by the whole life of the institution, by appropriate measures of self-government and by outside activities of various kinds.

C. TRAINING COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITY TRAINING DEPARTMENTS

It is impossible to exaggerate the place of these in moulding educational opinion and in modifying the school curriculum through their annual output of trained recruits, their frequent contact with schools, their refresher courses for already experienced teachers.

It is not, of course, anticipated that all teachers should be trained to teach the specific subjects which bear most directly on citizenship. What is important is, first, that teachers should themselves be encouraged to be active-minded citizens, and, secondly, that they should recognize the responsibility laid on them to imbue their pupils with a sense of what good citizenship means. Students in training should realize from the beginning the contribution which may be made to this conception by the corporate life of the school and through many individual subjects. In addition, a certain

proportion of students will be called upon later themselves to teach social studies in some form or other; in view of the fact that the number of teachers adequately equipped for the purpose is insufficient even for the demands of to-day, it is vitally important that a far larger number than at present should themselves acquire the necessary knowledge, and should be given suggestions as to how it can best be handed on to their future pupils. We should like, therefore, to emphasize the recommendation made by the Training College Association when considering the first draft of this pamphlet:

More time and emphasis might well be given to recent history and to the international relationships aspect of geography; and a course in Training Colleges for intending teachers in senior schools might include:

- (a) some treatment of economic theory with applications to finance, commerce, transport, industry, and social conditions;
- (b) some treatment of political theory with applications to local, national, and imperial government, and with some study of international relations.

Some training colleges and departments already arrange courses in the social sciences, either as part of their regular curriculum or as optional additions, or both. In many cases also students are offered considerable experience in self-government, and are encouraged, or even required, to have practical contacts with such social activities as child welfare, after-care work, boys' and girls' clubs, play centres, Scouts and Guides, branches of the League of Nations Union, &c. They also hold debates and discussions on many political and economic subjects; but these, as has been previously stated, in our view need systematic training in economics and politics as a background if they are to do any more than arouse interest.

In some colleges students are already encouraged to work out methods of teaching elementary aspects of the social sciences, but much valuable pioneer work remains still to be done in this direction.

D. THE UNIVERSITIES

It should hardly be necessary to stress the importance of the universities as a training ground for citizenship. Here we find those who will constitute the future leaders of thought, both with regard to practical affairs and in research. University students, moreover, owing to their having already attained adult status, should be able to gain a clear conception of social responsibility and a more thorough grasp of the principles underlying political and economic problems of the modern world than can those who are still in the adolescent stage or at school.

There are those who claim that the real work of our universities to-day is to do for our age what the medieval universities did for their own day—to interpret the world in its wholeness to each generation of students. This ideal may be approached for the fortunate few who can choose their courses of study with little regard for their vocation; but the large majority must go out into the world able to play a definite role and to earn their own living, and are inevitably following courses of study to prepare them for their professional or business careers.

In practically every university where there are final honour schools or diploma courses in economics, commerce, social science, modern history, geography, and political science, an opportunity is given to students following these courses to study some at least of the subjects which we have been considering; but in many universities those taking honours or diploma courses of this kind are few. A larger number of students obtain some knowledge of economics, history, &c., either as optional subjects in the pass degree or in the intermediate examinations.

In addition to these formal courses, in every university there are societies—political, economic, debating—which give the student—whether he is studying these subjects as part of his work or otherwise—an opportunity to develop his interest, his political judgement, and his civic sense. But as was pointed out in Part I the proportion of students in any

university who are already sufficiently interested to take an active part in clubs and societies does not usually appear to be large; and it must again be remembered that, as in the schools and training colleges, to take part in economic and political discussions with no background of systematic study is likely to produce a regrettably superficial attitude to serious subjects.

It is not easy to make suggestions as to how the universities can play a larger part than at present in direct training for citizenship and in giving a knowledge of the social background to those engaged in their vocational training. We hope that more universities may establish final honour schools such as the Modern Greats School at Oxford, the Economics and Political Science Tripos at Cambridge, and the various degree courses in economics and politics in London, but we recognize the fact that the majority of students must continue to prepare for their vocation, and that the majority of vocations do not necessarily demand a knowledge of the social sciences.

It must, however, be remembered that—in view of the increasing part played by the professions and business in the affairs of the community to-day, and in order that their members may be in a position to advise as to the best methods by which their particular technique may be related to social needs—it is essential that preparation for a professional or business life should include some knowledge of the social structure which forms its setting. Technical and vocational courses should, therefore, without departing too far from their immediate subject, include the study of the social aspects of the particular profession or calling with which they are concerned. In addition, every opportunity should be taken to encourage students to select the social sciences when these are included as optional papers in whatever examination they may be taking.

In the case of those whose examinations, whether for vocational or other reasons, cannot, or do not, include such courses, we should advocate a considerable increase in the number of voluntary courses in public affairs or in economics, &c., such as are already arranged in Glasgow University and

elsewhere. If it became the custom for practically every student to study economics, politics, or economic history, either as a regular examination subject or by means of voluntary courses in which he is not examined, he might become a slightly less advanced specialist, but he would certainly be a better equipped citizen and a more complete person.

These proposals, however, can only meet with success if an increase be effected in the number of those interested in these subjects before they reach the university. At present the great majority of those who come up choose for further study subjects with which they have already become familiar at school. If and when the secondary school adequately undertakes the task of arousing interest in civic and economic problems, and of providing some foundation of the methods of study and of the necessary knowledge, it will inevitably follow that a far larger number than is now the case will wish to take subjects bearing on these problems when they reach the university. Universities in their turn can do much to encourage the study of the social sciences among their students by demanding, as is the case in certain of the entrance examinations to-day, some knowledge of the modern world as a condition of entrance.

An increase in the number of university students interested in public affairs would further have the beneficial result that a larger number than at present would be available not only for teaching but also for research in the social sciences—a consummation devoutly to be wished in view of the fact that the supply of those prepared to devote time to research in these subjects is now hopelessly insufficient to meet the needs of the community. The proposals we have put forward, therefore, would, if adopted, give us not only better trained citizens, but also more and better equipped leaders of thought.

E. ADULT EDUCATION—NON-VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL

The part to be played by adult education, whether vocational or non-vocational, is now and always will be of supreme

importance in training for citizenship. Not only is the number of young people over fourteen who receive any kind of further education less than one in five in the whole population of that age, but the recognition of the need for deliberately training young people at school for their vocation as citizens is still far from being general, and to many heads of schools the difficulties in its way, such as lack of time, lack of qualified teachers, the fear of political bias and the like, still appear to be insuperable. Thus, for many years to come we shall inevitably be faced with a generation of adults, only a small proportion of whom have had adequate training for citizenship when at school.

We cannot afford to wait. So unfitted is our present population to grapple with its problems and to enable democratic institutions to work well, that the function of the adult education movement in trying to make up for the deficiencies of school education in this direction is of urgent and vital importance. If we omit the tiny proportion of the population which proceeds to a university, the only formal help that the rest of the population have, to supplement their own reading, the press, and the broadcast talk, is that which is given by adult education.

It is therefore a matter for great regret that the number of individuals who come within the ambit of formal adult education constitutes but a very small proportion of the population as a whole, and that the great majority of those reckoned as adult students attend for technical, domestic, or recreational reasons.

What, then, is the position? As regards non-vocational education we find that about one-third of the classes organized by university tutorial committees or extension delegacies and by the Workers' Educational Association deal with social studies such as economics, history, politics, psychology. They are, on the whole, well conducted, and succeed in stimulating the students who attend to independent and logical thought and to a keen sense of their social responsibilities. They are, in fact, providing an admirable training in citizenship, but—here is a great weakness—they only affect a chosen few. In the far larger number of non-vocational classes

under local education authorities only one in ten appear to be even remotely connected with the social or moral sciences.

As regards technical and commercial education generally, little enough is given in the way of direct training for citizenship, with the exception that economics is often taught as part of a commercial course, but largely from the business point of view; in some technical institutes the place in the industrial system as a whole of the particular industry studied is either definitely taught or else soaks through as a result of the teacher's actually working in the trade. But there are few senior full-time courses in which it is found possible to give more than vocational training; with regard to part-time courses the problem of time becomes even more acute. We would like to suggest as a beginning, that for both full-time and part-time students experiments should be tried in the way of providing optional courses in subjects related to the political and economic problems of the modern world.

The less formal side of adult education—that given by organizations such as the League of Nations' Union, Rotary Clubs, Women's Institutes, Women's Citizens' Associations, Townswomen's Guilds, religious bodies, &c., or even by political parties—has also a certain contribution to make. Sometimes these bodies arrange formal classes; but more often they hold single meetings to discuss the practical aspect of affairs, whether local or national, perhaps as a preparation for an attempt to bring some kind of political pressure. Thus they stimulate a sense of social responsibility and a more widespread, if somewhat superficial, study of social conditions, and are therefore all to the good; though an unfortunate sheep-like tendency in their members is apt to lead to the uncritical acceptance of the point of view of an able speaker.

It is hoped that as time goes on the appeal of adult education will become widespread and that whether the form of education is vocational or non-vocational, formal or less formal, it will do its best to encourage the study of those subjects which will lead to good citizenship. The quality of our public opinion will indeed depend largely on whether

the adult education movement can sufficiently enlarge its scope to take on as a practical ideal the civic training of a whole people.

F. BROADCASTING

A valuable ally both to schools, to adult education, and to the armchair listener, and one which bids fair to become far more extensive than at present, is the broadcast talk or series of talks on political, historical, and economic subjects, both for children and for adults. The B.B.C. can call on the finest teaching talent in the country, and its potential influence on the civic education of those prepared to listen cannot be overestimated. It can bring its listeners into touch with the wide world about whose actual extent the individual can, as a rule, know so little from his own narrow rut. Consider the advantage, for instance, of enabling a child or teacher from a rural school to hear Mr. Baldwin defining democracy, or an actual meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations. The education service of the B.B.C., whether to schools or to adults, has no doubt its limitations, but it is enterprising and fresh in its outlook, and we hope to see it considerably extended.

III. TRAINING IN CLEAR THINKING

IN order to attain clear thinking on the problems with which a citizen will have to deal in later life, two main conditions are necessary: first, that he shall be able to apply to these problems the scientific method of weighing relevant facts and of pursuing an unbiased search for truth; and secondly, that he shall be able to obey the old Greek exhortation, 'Know thyself', and to recognize how his own mind works and its limitations.

With regard to the first of these, some teachers would claim that—inasmuch as they teach clear thinking in the course of the study of English, languages, and mathematics, and the scientific method in the study of the physical sciences

—nothing more is required, and the child or older pupil will automatically be able to transfer the mental habits acquired in the classroom to the council chamber or the polling booth. We have shown in Part I, however, that experience proves that in fact this transference does not necessarily occur; that even our best-known mathematicians and scientists or business men often appear unable to face the realities of a political situation, however careful they may be in their own study to base conclusions on well-established premises only. What is true of those with minds well equipped in their own subjects holds still more in the case of those whose formal education stopped at the age of fourteen or sixteen.

It would appear, therefore, that the recognition of the need for accuracy and for the logical sequence of ideas acquired in one subject will not inevitably and in itself be applied to others, and that in order that the process of transference may be facilitated through becoming conscious, and also for its own sake, definite training in clear thinking must be given.

A valuable beginning can certainly be made in the study of mathematics or the physical sciences where the logical sequences are comparatively simple and the need for evidence abundantly clear. But in the search for the causes of any economic or political phenomena the various factors which may have to be taken into account are often so numerous, and the possible consequences, both direct and indirect, are often so difficult to estimate, that the assumption that the mental habits derived from the study of the physical sciences, mathematics, or languages are alone sufficient to enable the citizen to tackle political and economic problems is like arming a soldier in a modern battle with nothing but a bow and arrow. It is essential, therefore, as we pointed out in arguing the case in favour of the teaching of economics and public affairs, that older children and adults, at any rate, should be trained to apply the elementary principles of logic directly to economic and political problems.

The need for a grounding in biology in order that something should be known of the working of the human body is

generally accepted; in the same way it would appear necessary to acquire also some knowledge of the working of the human mind. Failing this, the ordinary individual will be unable to distinguish between the dictates of his reason and the prejudices which arise from some unrecognized, or semi-recognized emotion, prejudices which deflect and hamper the reasoning power, narrow the sympathies, and lay him at the mercy of newspaper slogans and crowd feelings.

Children over fourteen will certainly be interested in the way the mind works, and can easily be made to realize something of the unconscious assumptions on which their own individual reasoning has hitherto been based. A good textbook such as Dr. Thouless' *Straight and Crooked Thinking* provides for these young people a simple statement of the laws of very elementary logic and psychology. The fact that many of the examples are taken from current political slogans, and that the kind of fallacies to be found in a typical newspaper leading article are analysed, adds to its value. Several secondary schools of which we have heard follow Dr. Thouless' plan of using the newspapers as a means of exposing biased statements, unfair assumptions, and the drawing of incorrect deductions.

In dealing with adults more can be attempted. It is therefore unfortunate that although in training colleges psychology already finds a place, it tends to be limited to educational psychology only, and logic, as far as we know, is non-existent. Similarly in universities few, except the minute proportion of those who are studying the mental and moral sciences, have the opportunity of acquiring the mental habits necessary for good citizenship; while in non-vocational adult education, although the number of classes in psychology is growing they still remain few, and in technical institutes they find no place. We should like to advocate, therefore, a general increase in the number of courses, both in universities and in adult education, which should deal—not with elaborate exercises in formal logic nor with the more remote aspects of psychology—but with those aspects which can assist in the formation of balanced judgement and correct reasoning. In dealing with

adults again, the application of logic and psychology to critical, political, and economic problems should be stressed explicitly in order that the use of the scientific method with regard to these problems should be recognized as an essential part of good citizenship.

CONCLUSION

WE have now completed a rapid survey of the qualities essential for the citizens of a democratic state and of the ways in which, in the different types of educational institutions in the country, pupils and students might be more effectively trained for citizenship. We have endeavoured to show that in order that democracy may work in a modern complex community it must demand from its citizens a fund of self-sacrifice, a passionate love of freedom and truth, a power of clear thinking, and an equipment of knowledge of the modern world.

The proposals which we have put forward have been discussed with teachers in all types of institutions: they are necessarily tentative, and are advanced mainly to provide a basis for discussion. But there is no doubt that a widespread and growing feeling exists among teachers and other educationists that the time is ripe for a real move forward in education for citizenship. We feel convinced that those who share this view are willing to co-operate, and that much can be done by means of education to promote the ideals of freedom and of social responsibility which make up the democratic ideal. As Epictetus has said: 'The rulers of the State assert that only the free shall be educated, but God hath said that only the educated shall be free.'



